A

# SERIOUS and SEASONABLE

# ADDRESS

TO THE

# CITIZENS and FREEMEN

OF THE

# CITY of *DUBLIN.*

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*DUBLIN:*

Printed by EDWARD BATE,

For CHA. CONNOR Bookſeller, at the Corner of *Smock-Alley*, oppoſite the *Blind Quay*, M.DCC.XLIX.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

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# ADDRESS, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

AS there is a Vacancy now in Parliament, by the Death of one of your late Repreſentatives, which the LAWS of your COUNTRY have impower'd you to fill up, by the Choice of a worthy Member; as there are ſeveral Competitors, of different Stations and Characters, who apply for your Votes and Intereſt on this Occaſion; and as nothing can be of greater Importance to the Happineſs and Well-being of your Community, than to fix upon ſuch a Conſtituent, as is moſt capable to ſerve you in ſo high a Truſt; I hope the meaneſt Advice or Sentiments will not be quite diſregarded, which are offer'd with no other View, than to contribute to your making a wiſe and ſalutary Determination.

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The Perſon, who preſumes to addreſs you at this critical Conjuncture, bears no other Relation to your Body, than that of a common Friend and Well-wiſher to the whole; he had no private Advantage of his own to promote, nor any particular Candidate to affect, farther than his real Worth and Merit will recommend him; and as he thinks and ſpeaks from no other Motive than that of Love and Benevolence to his Country in general, he flatters himſelf, that in this Light, the poor Mite, he throws in for the publick Good, will meet with the more favourable Indulgence and Reception. I am ſorry to find, Gentlemen, that in a City ſo auguſt and conſiderable as yours; at a Seaſon, when all your Wiſdom, and other good Qualities ſhould ſhine out in their fulleſt Luſtre; and in a Point of ſuch Moment, where nothing can tend ſo much to its Honour and Succeſs, as Unanimity and Agreement, there ſhould be ſo violent a Propenſity to Party and Faction amongſt you, and ſuch a Diſtraction in all your Counſels and Procedure, as can not fail, if not timely prevented, to produce ſome fatal Conſequence in the End.

It is but too evident, that in this, as indeed in moſt other Caſes of the ſame Nature, great Art and Induſtry have been uſed, by ſome warm and injudicious Minds, to influence your Reſolutions by pompous or uncharitable Repreſentations; to paint out one Candidate, as a wiſe and diſintereſted Patriot, and another, as a ſervile and corrupt Proſtitute; the firſt endowed with a Firmneſs and Honeſty of Soul, capable to aſſert all your Rights and Privileges in the Senate, and to raiſe your City to the higheſt Pinacle of Grandeur and Glory; but the latter ſway'd by a Diſpoſition to oppreſs and enſlave you, and to bind on your Chains the faſter, by that very Power, with which you inveſt him; let me therefore intreat you, Gentlemen, to call in your own Reaſon and Diſcernment on this Occaſion, and not ſuffer yourſelves to be too eaſily deluded by ſuch ſubtile and ſpecious Inſinuations.

It is no doubt your Duty, and will prove your Intereſt, to make the cloſeſt Enquiry you can into the true Character of thoſe, into whoſe Hands you commit ſo weighty a Charge, and ſo valuable a Stake, and ever to give the Preference to thoſe, whoſe Virtues and Qualifications of every Kind beſt entitle them to it; but at the ſame Time you cannot but allow, that to ſucceed the better in this laudable Scrutiny, and to prevent all Danger of Deception, in a Choice of ſuch Delicacy and Hazard, nothing can be more neceſſary and prudent, than to ſuſpend the leaſt Appearance of Promiſe or Engagement, till your Judgment is formed upon a ſound Foundation; and that you take care, not to be too haſtily miſled by the falſe Gloſſes and Prejudices that will be thrown in your Way to captivate and inſnare you.

The Methods, which are generally moſt prevailing to impoſe upon the natural Weakneſs of the human Mind, and to gain Proſelytes in their Favour, are the very Points which ſhould chiefly alarm your Attention, and againſt which you ought to guard with the utmoſt Caution; I mean the zealous and forward Impetuoſity of ſuch Men as labour to magnify their own Merits and Talents, and to leſſen or defame thoſe of their Competitors; and however they may aſſume the artful Guiſe, of not attempting, by any indirect Means, to influence your Intereſt or Approbation, in their Favour, yet this very Pretence is the moſt dangerous and ſuſpicious Sign they carry about them; and I apprehend, you will find it rather your ſafeſt Rule, in diſtinguiſhing real Candour and Sincerity, to ſuppoſe it lodged in him, who requeſts your Voice, and modeſtly declines his own Praiſes, than in that Man, who ſeems to deſpiſe all Courtſhip and Petition, with a vain Oſtentation, at the ſame Time, of high Worth and Self-deſerving.

A ready Diſpoſition to cenſure Governors, and a ſolemn Avowal of redreſſing publick Grievances, if honoured with that Station and Province, which would enable them to effect it, has ever been the notorious Conduct of ambitious and aſpiring Minds; this Principle

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I believe has often been conſpicuous in moſt Adminiſtrations; and the Pretender to his Majeſty's Throne of theſe Kingdoms, has more than once attempted, by this deceitful Bait, to lure the Multitude to fight under his Banner.

For your better Direction and Safe-guard, Gentlemen, when the ſame Motives are laid in your Way to bias your Choice, this Addreſs is principally intended; and the ſix following Points, I apprehend will be well worth your moſt ſerious Regard and Conſideration.

1*ſt*, That there never yet was any Adminiſtration ſo good and perfect, but there were ſtill a Number of reſtleſs and turbulent Spirits, ready to cenſure and condemn it.

2*dly*, That, conſidering the ſtate of Things in this Life, and the great Infirmities of human Nature, 'tis impoſſible but ſome Defects there muſt be in every Adminiſtration whatever.

3*dly*, That the Errors complained of in Governors are moſt frequently of the ſmalleſt Kind, and that an Attempt to redreſs ſuch ſuppoſed Errors, generally proves of more pernicious Conſequence to the Community, than the Errors themſelves, were they real, could have done.

4*thly*, That there muſt in every Government be a diſcretionary Power, to recede a little, in ſome Inſtances, from the ſtrictneſs of ſtated Rules and Laws, and that ſuch Power is rather beneficial than hurtful to the publick Welfare.

5*thly*, That where an Abuſe of ſuch Power becomes Dangerous to the Community, and ought to be redreſſed, thoſe of mean Station, and the loweſt among the People, are very unfit Inſtruments for that Purpoſe.

6*thly*, That as in a Number, veſted with equal Power, ſome good and diſintereſted Minds there muſt probably be found, theſe alone are the likelieſt Inſtruments to rectify the Abuſes, and reſtore the good Order of that Adminiſtration, wherein they preſide.

As to the first of these Points, Gentlemen, which I most earnestly recommend to your Consideration, I believe from a very little Reflection, and the minutest Regard to the general Views and Nature of Mankind, the greater Part of them will appear most powerfully disposed to find many Faults in the Conduct of those who govern them, and in every Instance almost of their Administration, to point out either a new Model for better Rules and Laws, or else the utmost Neglect and Corruption in the conscientious Execution of those they are already intrusted with.

Now, not to mention the almost universal Inability of such querulous Malecontents, to reform judiciously Matters of such Weight and Difficulty, pray carry your Enquiries, Gentlemen, with some impartial Composure into the real Motives, upon which these Men seem to form their Censure and Invectives, and I am confident, you will easily perceive, that they are widely different from those, by which they pretend themselves to be animated and determined. Envy at the exalted Station of their Superiors, an affected Pride, that they have Talents better adapted to the same Province, an uneasiness under the Laws, by which their own Vices are restrained, and which is still worse, a turbulent Disposition to unhinge all Order, and to fish in those muddy Waters, for some Advantages to themselves, are, I fear, too often the latent Springs, which set the grating Wheels of Discontent against Governours first in motion.

If this be the Case, and that it is so, few I believe will venture to deny, how much does it concern you, Gentlemen, to be well upon your Guard, in distinguishing prudently betwixt Men of such pernicious Principles and those of real Worth and Integrity, who have nothing so much at Heart, as your true Interest and Security, when they present themselves for your Option, and make you a free and sincere Tender of their Service.

It is not, Gentlemen, a noisy and popular Declamation for Liberty and Property, the boasting Cant of defending your Constitution, or a theatrical Declaration about

about the Redreſs of Grievances, but a well grounded Knowledge of the genuine Sentiments and Character of the Candidate who addreſſes you, that ought to be the Teſt of your Choice upon this Occaſion: For my Part, the more I perceive a Man decline the Publication of his own Abilities and Honeſty, the greater Confidence I would repoſe in him, and I ſhall ever ſuſpect the ſincerity of that Perſon, who is the daily Trumpeter of his own Perfections: A laboured Piece of ſplendid Oratory and Elocution in theſe Inſtances is like the gilding of a Pill, which proves bitter within, and frequently unſucceſsful to the Purpoſe for which it is adminiſtered; or rather indeed reſembles the Bombaſt and Fuſtian of a Mountebank, who boaſts his Remedies, will cure all Diſtempers, which yet in the End ſeldom fail to ruin the Health and Conſtitution he undertook to reſtore.

You may all remember, Gentlemen, the Sentence, with which a late excellent Governour of this Kingdom cloſed his Speech to Parliament, and which imported thus much, that he would make them no previous Profeſſions of his benevolent Regard to their Intereſt and Welfare, but that his Conduct alone, ſhould be the Teſt of his Diſpoſition to ſerve them; ſuch Behaviour I take to be the true Mark of a warm and honeſt Heart, as the vaunting beforehand their Ability for future Exploits and Performances, is an evident Sign, that Men of this caſt either want Power or Inclination, or more probably both, to diſcharge the arduous Task they have ſo readily undertaken.

But to come cloſer to the Point I propoſed here to inſiſt upon, and for the better Illuſtration of which, I thought the Remarks, I have now made, neceſſary, there is no one Circumſtance ſo frequently laid hold on by Men of the Stamp I have deſcribed, and who have Ambition enough to aſpire to that Station or Power, for which they are in no Senſe qualifyed, as to prepoſſeſs thoſe, whoſe Favour they court, with an Opinion that they are ill governed, and that they groan under many Oppreſſions,

Oppreſſions, which they would rejoyce to have the Honour of freeing them from.

It is but too melancholy a Truth indeed, that the Populace of every Community are very ſtrongly biaſſed to receive a bad Impreſſion of thoſe Rulers who are placed over them, and to whom, for the Preſervation of their own Happineſs, they ought to pay all due Honour and Obedience, as Inſtruments ordained by God for the Encouragement of Well-doers, and a Terror to thoſe who do evil. The moſt probable Cauſes for this unhappy Temper of Mind, ſo fatal to their Peace and Security, I have already conſidered, and this Infirmity the more active and artful amongſt them never fail to improve to their own Ends, blowing up the ſmalleſt Sparks of Diſcontent, till they become a deſtructive Flame, and hoping from the Ruins of ſuch a Conflagration to pick up ſomething for their own Benefit.

That learned and judicious Divine, Mr. *Richard Hooker*, who is allowed by all impartial Readers, to have had a moſt exquiſite Senſe, not only of the Obligation of all Laws in general, but likewiſe of the Defects of the human Mind, and the vain Pretences made uſe of to evade Obedience, has in his excellent Treatiſe of Eccleſiaſtical Polity begun his firſt Book in the following Words.

" He that goeth about to perſuade a Multitude, " that they are not ſo well governed as they ought to " be, ſhall never want attentive and favourable Hearers; " becauſe they know the manifold Defects, whereunto " every kind of Regiment is ſubject, but the ſecret " Lets and Difficulties, which in publick Proceedings " are innumerable and inevitable, they have not or- " dinarily the Judgment to conſider; and becauſe, " ſuch as openly reprove ſuppoſed Diſorders of State, " are taken for principal Friends to the common Benefit " of all, and for Men that carry ſingular Freedom of " Mind, under this fair and plauſible Colour, whatſo- " ever they utter paſſeth for Good and Current; that, " which wanteth in the Weight of their Speech, is ſup-

" plied by the Aptneſs of Mens Mind to accept and " believe it. Whereas, on the other ſide, if we main- " tain things that are eſtabliſhed, we have not only to " ſtrive with a number of heavy Prejudices, deeply " rooted in the Hearts of Men, who think that herein " we ſerve the Time, and ſpeak in favour of the pre- " ſent State, becauſe thereby we either hold or ſeek " Preferment, but alſo to bear ſuch Exceptions, as " Minds, ſo averted before hand, uſually take againſt " that, which they are loth ſhould be poured into " them."

Nothing, in my Opinion, can with more Clearneſs and Energy be adapted to ſet the Point now before you, Gentlemen, in a true Light, than theſe Sentiments of that great and wiſe Writer. He paints here in moſt lively Colours the unhappy Temper of the bulk of Mankind, who have ſuch a promptneſs in their Nature, to cenſure the beſt Adminiſtrations they can poſſibly be placed under, and to imbibe greedily the ſpecious Accuſations, which deſigning Men form againſt them. The Reaſon of their being thus diſpoſed he makes proceed from he nce, that tho' they are ſenſible, no kind of earthly Government can be perfect, but expoſed daily to many obvious Failures and Diſappointments, in the Ends propoſed from it, yet they will make no Allowance for thoſe private and leſs viſible Obſtructions, which in the juſteſt Execution of the wiſeſt Laws can neither be enumerated nor avoided; which is ſuch a partial and unreaſonable way of judging, as is not by any Arguments whatever to be defended.

They, who are loudeſt and moſt violent in their Clamours, againſt the ſuppoſed Corruptions of a State, he ſhews, are generally, by the major Part of the unthinking Community, eſteemed their warmeſt Friends and Benefactors, and Men of matchleſs Spirit and Boldneſs, who are not afraid to ſtem the Torrent of oppreſſive Power, for the ſake of Liberty and Reformation. Under this Perſuaſion, and in ſo favourable a Light, the worſt grounded Repreſentations of ſuch Declaimers, he obſerves,

obſerves, are immediately ſwallowed down and approved of, and from this enchanting Maſk of conſulting alone the publick Welfare, the invalidity of their Reaſoning is never once arraigned or ſuſpected.

On the other ſide, he remarks, that in the Defence of an eſtabliſhed Government, they, who eſpouſe that Part, have the numerous and inveterate Prejudices of a Multitude to contend with, which are ſo deeply rooted in their Minds and Belief, that it is almoſt impoſſible to conquer them; and whoever attempts to ſpeak favourably of the Adminiſtration, is immediately accuſed as a ſelf-intereſted Paraſite and Time-ſerver, who wants either to ſecure his preſent, or obtain new and larger Preferments.

But beſides all theſe Difficulties, which are thus oppoſed to the Supporters of a legal Eſtabliſhment, he concludes, that one of the moſt dangerous and inſurmountable is this, that the generality of Men have a natural Averſion to the being bound by any Laws whatever, and although theſe very Laws are the ſole Preſervatives of their own good Order and Happineſs, yet the more they are perſuaded to think well of them, the more they abhor and reſiſt them.

As theſe judicious Remarks, Gentlemen, are well calculated for the Intereſt and Conſideration of all Communities, ſo am I convinced, that your applying them impartially to your preſent Caſe and Situation, will be attended with the utmoſt Benefit you can well propoſe to your ſelves. Be not then, I adviſe you too prematurely alarmed or influenced by the virulent Accuſations, ſo artfully ſet on Foot, by ſome reſtleſs and aſpiring Minds, againſt thoſe Governors, to whom your Laws require your Subjection and Obedience; your Caſe, as to the ſuppoſed Corruptions of your Superiours, is not ſingular, but in every Conſtitution upon the Face of the Earth, however well contrived and executed, there have ever abounded that deſpicable Claſs of Incendiaries, whoſe principal Aim it is to traduce and undermine it, ſo that inſtead of any Damage or Diſ-

honour, you will find it your real Profit and Glory in the End, not to herd with the Groſs of Mankind, in receiving too eaſily thoſe Inſinuations, ſo ſpeciouſly deviſed for your favourable Reception.

That in every Government there are many Defects, and unſucceſsful Meaſures taken in the Regulation of it, cannot be denyed, but if at the ſame time you will juſtly conſider, Gentlemen, the various Difficulties, that lye in the way of the beſt concerted Schemes, as well in point of Counſel as Execution, you will the more readily compound for other inevitable Failures, and not endeavour, for the Sake of theſe, to ſap the very Foundation, upon which all Government muſt be built, and for the Cure of ſmaller Evils, deſtroy the Vitals of all Society and Order.

Do not then imagine, Gentlemen, that thoſe alone are the warmeſt or moſt ſincere Patriots, in defence of your Happineſs and Conſtitution, who labour to convince you, that your Governours are attempting to rob you of the one, by deſtroying the other; you will in Fact find thoſe very Men to be the moſt dangerous Enemies you have to both; the Zeal and Rhetorick they expreſs, to enforce their Accuſations, are by no Means an evident Sign of their own Candour and Integrity, but generally the reverſe, and whoever pretends, that the Method to redreſs a State, is, by the Cenſuring and reſiſting thoſe who Rule it, to throw it firſt into Confuſion, can never ſurely propoſe the publick Welfare as the End of their Conduct.

Men thus diſpoſed may tell you indeed, with ſome plauſible Inſinuations, that whoever refuſes to joyn with the ſame Violence, in theſe exorbitant Clamours againſt Rulers, muſt be Partners in their Corruptions, and in Oppoſition to the Publick, have their private Intereſt only at Heart, but when you conſider, that their Meaſures tend to the Preſervation of Peace and good Order, and thoſe of their Accuſers to Anarchy and Diſtraction,

you

you will eaſily judge, to which ſide that ſevere Imputation is beſt adapted.

In a Word, Gentlemen, as the Minds of too many unhappy Reaſoners are moſt fatally alienated from their Governours, for no other Cauſe, than that they cannot bear the Thoughts of any Superiority or Confinement, you will find it your true Intereſt, rather to diſcourage than favour ſuch mutinous Declaimers; and be perſuaded, that their reſtleſs Diſcontent againſt thoſe in Power, or the Laws they enjoyn, ariſes chiefly from hence, that they want themſelves to dictate and command, and to be diſtinguiſhed from that lower Rank, who, for the Good of Community, are bound to obey.

If this firſt Poſition then be allowed, that there never yet was any Adminiſtration ſo good and perfect, but there were ſtill a number of reſtleſs and turbulent Spirits ready to cenſure and condemn it; to ſet the unreaſonable Severity of ſuch petulant Complainers in a ſtill ſtronger Light, I would now beg your Attention, to my

2*d Point*, *which is*, That conſidering the great Infirmities of human Nature, and the State of Things in this Life, it is impoſſible but ſome Defects there muſt be in every Adminiſtration whatever.

So long as the Mind of Man continues Subject to a Variety of Paſſions, Views, and Inclinations, in their Nature and Tendency very diſtinct from each other, and ſo long as the Freedom of the Will, in a right or wrong Application of theſe, remains in it's preſent State, ſo long muſt there, in all the Governments of this World, be many Errors and Failures, and many unſucceſsful Meaſures taken in their Support and Regulation.

Providence never intended, that there ſhould be ſuch an abſolute degree of Perfection impreſſed upon Faculties merely Human, as would put it out of their Power in any Inſtance of Duty to judge or act amiſs; this not only is incompatible with the Frame and Conſtitution

ſtitution of ſuch a Claſs of inferiour Beings, but it would render the Superintendency of an infallible and Divine one quite unneceſſary, and would deſtroy that Foundation, upon which the real Merit of all Behaviour, and the Rewards annexed to ſuch Merit muſt be finally determined.

In a Scheme then ſo wiſely calculated for his own Honour, and for the Dignity and Happineſs of Mankind, it ſeemed ſufficient to the ſupreme Governor of the World, to communicate to them ſuch Rules and Knowledge, as would beſt direct them to a proper Form of earthly Government, for the Security of thoſe great Ends; and as near to the Model of his own divine Adminiſtration, as the different State, and Nature of the two, could well admit of, or require; but by no Means to ſtamp ſuch an Infallibility upon it, as would ever preſerve it from all Error and Deviation. If we look into the State of Heavenly Beings, where the leaſt Appearance of any Defect or Miſconduct could ſcarce be ſuppoſed to get footing, we ſhall find from indubitable Proof, that Angels themſelves, who were the immediate Miniſters of God, and perpetually influenced by his Preſence and Glory, were yet rendered ſubject to fall from their high Duty and Office; how much more may we imagine the frail, imperfect, and far lower Order of the Human Species, expoſed to greater, and more numerous Failures, in their reſpective Characters and Stations? And if the firſt of our Kind, created in ſuch a Superiour ſtate of Virtue and Perfection, could by the Temptations of Senſe be ſwayed from Order, and Obedience to the Divine Rule preſcribed to them, what Title can their Poſterity, under the growing Evil of the ſame fatal Diſpoſition, plead for an Exemption from all Miſcarriage, in the various Tasks to which they ſtand bound? This Point ſeems ſo clear, Gentlemen, that I apprehend you will readily allow, that upon Earth there can be no Government, without many Defects and Diſappointments, in the obtaining thoſe Ends for which it was originally deſigned.

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In a Caſe ſo notorious, to produce Inſtances from Matter of Fact, ſeems quite needleſs, theſe are ſo frequent, obvious, and univerſal, that they cannot eſcape the moſt ſuperficial Obſervation; ſearch the Globe through, and in every State, Government, and Adminiſtration, you will find daily Marks of Errors, flagrant and various; whilſt they who preſide in them are Men, there will be Ambition or Avarice, or Faction, or Revenge, to diſtort the goodly Frame of the wiſeſt Conſtitution, and to clog the Wheels of Juſtice, Regularity and Order; and this I muſt add, Gentlemen, that would you but calmly reflect upon the more ſhocking Events, which from Corruptions of this Kind, in States abſolute eſpecially, are known to abound, you would give your Thoughts a new Turn, and, inſtead of Railing and Diſcontent, be truly thankful, that thoſe you feel, are ſo few, gentle and eaſy.

In the Contrivance and Inſtitution of Rules for Government, conſider ſeriouſly, Gentlemen, what vaſt Difficulties ariſe from that Diſparity and Contraſt of Tempers, which for the moſt Part are concerned in them; the cool and cautious are obſtructed by the raſh and ſanguine, the judicious and condeſcending by the froward and ignorant, the benevolent by the parſimonious, and the publick-ſpirited by the partial and ſelfiſh; nay in all Proceedings of this Kind, there is the the utmoſt Hazard, that the beſt concerted Meaſures may be defeated by the Majority, who are but too frequently indeed on the wrong Side of the Queſtion.

But it is not ſo much in the Frame, as Execution of good Laws, that the Welfare of all Communities is chiefly embarked, it will therefore be again neceſſary to remark the many Defects in Government, that ariſe from this Cauſe. Now in Points of Omiſſion or Neglect here, the firſt in Power are not always blameable, but thoſe ſubordinate Officers rather, to whom the executive Part is intruſted, and I apprehend that there are innumerable Inſtances of Failure and Corruption in that reſpect,

reſpect, which the wiſeſt or honeſteſt Rulers alive can neither well diſcover or remedy.

There are none of you, I preſume, Gentlemen, Strangers to the unhappy Effects of Indolence, or a ſenſual Courſe, or private Gain, which ſo often in the Hands of inferior Miniſters obſtruct the Execution of the beſt Ordinances, and render them in a Manner quite fruitleſs and abortive. Although the Miſchiefs then, which enſue from hence to the Publick, are moſt ſenſible and detrimental, yet the Fountains from whence they flow are for the moſt part inviſible, and ſo artfully concealed, that they eſcape the Cognizance of thoſe who have a proper Power to correct and reform them; in which Caſe nothing ſurely can be ſo injurious, as to cenſure thoſe Governors, by whom ſuch Laws were well deviſed and ordained. Men, who carry Things to this Extremity, will ſtop at nothing, for the Gratification of their Spleen, and ill Nature; nay they may proceed at length to arraign the Providence of God himſelf, becauſe all Things do not fall out to their liking; and that his Laws are ſo often violated by thoſe to whom the Diſcharge of them is committed.

But there is yet another material Obſervation, Gentlemen, well worth your Notice, in the Point I am now upon, which is, that beſides the ill Conduct of Governors, or of thoſe appointed under them for the Execution of Laws and Juriſdiction, the lower Members of the Community themſelves, for whoſe Benefit and Obedience ſuch Laws were formed, are in many Inſtances the principal Cauſe of thoſe Defects and Diſorders, to which the Adminiſtration is ſubject, and for which it is ſo often cenſured and defamed.

When Injunctions at any Time are eſtabliſhed, inconſiſtent with what they eſteem their peculiar Intereſt, or Privilege, or Liberty, Accuſations are immediately raiſed againſt the Impoſers of them as Tyrants and Oppreſſors, and although the very End of ſuch Laws be the Preſervation of Order and publick Welfare, yet they are inveighed

inveighed againſt and reſiſted with as much Violence, as if they were really deſtructive of all that was moſt dear and valuable to them. Hence ariſes the great Confuſion and Perplexity, to which every Adminiſtration is ſo frequently expoſed, and Rulers muſt bear the Imputation of thoſe Evils, which had their ſole Origin from the rebellious Principles of ſuch as were bound to obey.

Lay your Hands upon your Hearts then, Gentlemen, and if at any Time you find the leaſt Rancour or Animoſity lodged there againſt thoſe who preſide over you, indulge not thoſe Paſſions at leaſt, till you are ſure that it is their Mal-adminiſtration only, and not your own ſelfiſh Prejudices which have at firſt promoted and inflamed them.

I hope I ſhall not, Gentlemen, from the Sentiments I have profeſſed on this Subject, be ſuſpected as a partial Favourer of all Governors in general, or to intend, that they ſhould be ſo abſolute in their Wills and Determinations, that however great their Errors or Corruptions may be, yet no Cenſure or Oppoſition whatever muſt on that Score ariſe againſt them; ſo far am I from judging in this Manner, that I think it is the principal Glory of every Adminiſtration, to be as free from all Defects, and to keep as cloſe to the Perfection of that Divine Original, from whence all Power is derived, as is conſiſtent with the State of Human Nature in this Life; and when Rulers or Officers deviate from the high Truſt repoſed in them inro any Acts injurious or oppreſſive to the Community, I am as much perſuaded, that no Care can be too great or ſeaſonable to prevent and reſtrain them. All that I contend for, Gentlemen, is this, that as ſome Failures there muſt be in the beſt conſtituted Governments upon Earth, and many of theſe perhaps next to an Impoſſibility to redreſs, private Subjects muſt not from hence be indulged in the Liberty of traducing the Characters, or reſiſting the Ordinances of thoſe to whom they owe Obedience; for as ſuch Indulgence muſt ever be attended with moſt perni-

cious Effects ſo where a Reformation in any Point becomes neceſſary, they alone muſt undertake it, to whom the Laws of that Community they preſide in have committed a proper Power for this Puapoſe.

This Conduct will ſtill appear the more rational and expedient, Gentlemen, by a due Enquiry into the Truth of the

3d Point propoſed here for your Conſideration, which is, that the Errors complained of in Governors are moſt frequently either imaginary, or of the ſmalleſt Kind; and that an Attempt to redreſs ſuch ſuppoſed Errors, generally proves of more pernicious Conſequence to the Community, than the Errors themſelves, were they real, could have done.

Upon a cloſe Attention to the Nature and Circumſtances of all Societies of Men in general, and the Adminiſtration of thoſe Laws, by which they are to be governed, whether eccleſiaſtical, cixil, political, municipal, or of what kind ſoever they are found to be, I apprehend the Juſtneſs of the Aſſertion here laid down will ſeldom be known to fail, and that for the two following Reaſons:

1ſt, Becauſe the more minute and inconſiderable the Defects in iny Government are, the more eaſily ſuch are diſtinguiſhed by the lower Penetration of the *Populace.*

2dly, Becauſe Defects of this Kind make generally a more powerful Impreſſion upon the Minds of the Vulgar, from their affecting in a ſtronger Manner ſome private Paſſion, or Prejudice, or Intereſt, to which they are attached; the Ferment conſequently that ariſes from hence is more ſudden and violent, than ſuch as more retired, through more dangerous Errors, are in the uſual State of Things attended with; and both theſe Reaſons, Gentlemen, from a few familiar Remarks, muſt, I think, be very plain and intelligible to you.

In the Frame and Execution of theſe eccleſiaſtical Laws, which regard the Welfare of Religion, and ought

to

to be our firſt and chief Concern, what is more notorious, than that any ſuppoſed Defect, in Rules of Form or Ceremony only, is immediately made publick, and animadverted upon with all imaginable Freedom, whilſt ſuch as reſpect material Doctrines, or the Fundamental Points of Religion, are but rarely underſtood or enquired after.

As this is a Caſe in Fact, which none I preſume will diſallow; ſo are the Reaſons for it no leſs clear and obvious. The various Circumſtances of outward Form in religious Exerciſe mnſt lye open to common View, and conſequently be expoſed to the Cenſure of the loweſt and moſt capricious Minds, who think proper to diſprove it; and as Matters of this Kind are better adapted to the Capacity of mere Senſe, and are frequently in Oppoſition to ſome favourite Opinion or Party, which they are fond of eſpouſing, therefore do they ſo often become the Object of popular Clamour, Diſlike, and Indignation.

On the other Hand, thoſe Errors which ariſe at any Time in the fundamental Articles or Doctrine of Religion, are more latent and unintelligible to the Reaſon or Obſervation of the Multitude, ſo that if their ſenſual Ends and Prejudices be but gratified, the others are readily ſwallowed down without the leaſt Scrutiny or Reluctance; and hence it ſo frequently happens, that all Things are turned into Confuſion and Diſorder, about Points in their own Nature quite harmleſs and indifferent, whilſt thoſe which are deſtructive of all Truth, Peace and Unanimity, are embracnd as the only ſound and orthodox Principles of the Chriſtian Inſtitution.

The Remarks I have made here, Gentlemen, upon eccleſiaſtical Laws and Adminiſtration, muſt, I believe, upon a rational Diſquiſition, be found to bear an exact Parallel with every other Conſtitution, that the different Nature of Things in this World requires for univerſal Happineſs. Whatever Injunctions, either Po-

licy or civil Intereſt, or the municipal Advantages and Security of ſeparate Corporations may demand for their reſpective Support and Well-being, it will ever appear, that Errors and Defects, which are either imaginary, or but of little Moment, are the uſual Provocations to all that Diſcontent and Virulence, to which Governors ſtand ſo much expoſed.

When any ſubordinate Rule is inſtituted, which comes readily within the Sphere of popular Knowledge, and ſeems to claſh in the leaſt with their private Judgments, Deſires, and Gratifications, the Impoſers of ſuch Rules are immediately repreſented as the Authors of Injuſtice, Ruin, and Diſtreſs to thoſe, for whoſe Happineſs and Protection alone they were ordained; and although ſuch Conſtitutions, upon a juſt Comprehenſion of them, may be found rather to tend highly to publick Welfare, or that if ſome Defects do attend them, they are but ſlight and inoffenſive, when compared with the more material points of Government, yet theſe alone are generally the Springs, from whence the Mutiny and Commotions, ſo incident to every Adminiſtration, will eaſily be diſcovered to take their firſt Riſe. I would not be thought to infer from hence, that Meaſures deſtructive to the Community are never taken by Governors at all, but as this comes not within the Compaſs of my preſent point, ſo muſt the Regulation of ſuch Meaſures belong to another Order of Men, quite diſtinct from thoſe, whoſe Duty and Conduct are under our preſent Conſideration.

I muſt own, Gentlemen, that the particular Laws and Rules, formed from Time to Time, for the Welfare of your City, and the diſtinct Corporations of which it conſiſts, I am pretty much a Stranger to; nor ſhall I preſume to enter into the Nature and Reality of thoſe many Violations of them, for which your Governors are ſo loudly accuſed; this I think is out of my Scope, and by no means either neceſſary or proper for the Province I have now aſſumed; but as it is much to be ſuſpected,

that

that many of the Defects ſo warmly cenſured, are of that minute Kind I have already deſcribed, inconſiſtent perhaps with ſome ſelfiſh Intereſt, Privilege, or Prejudice, which ſome of your Members were tenaciouſly diſpoſed to maintain, and their Diſcontents on this Account raiſed by the Art of deſigning Men, I would adviſe you well to conſider, whether it were not better to ſuppreſs ſuch Complaints about Errors of ſmall Importance, than to make them the Origin of great Animoſity and Confuſion in that Community to which you belong; and this in particular I beg you would reflect upon, that as Accuſations of this Nature may moſt probably be very unjuſtly founded, yet were they otherwiſe, they never can be the ſucceſsful Method of dreſſing thoſe Grievances, about which they are formed.

For my Part, Gentlemen, when I view your City ſo flouriſhing and proſperous in moſt of its Branches of Trade and Property, and indulged above many others in Liberties and Privileges, very various and extenſive, I cannot help thinking, that many of the Injuries, under which you are repreſented to ſuffer the utmoſt Diſtreſs, are imaginary only, and your Governors not guilty of that Tyranny or Oppreſſion ſo freely charged againſt them. If at any Time there be real Evils amongſt you, take care thst theſe be not rather the Effects of a Heavenly Providence, than an Earthly Adminiſtration; and be this your conſtant Rule, that the ſure Way to prevent ſuch, is firſt to pay ſtrict Obedience to the Will of an eternal Governor, and then due Honour and Submiſſion to the Laws of thoſe temporary Rulers, whom he has choſe in great Wiſdom and Goodneſs to place over you.

To conclude this Point then, as I at firſt propoſed, if the Errors complained of in Governors be for the moſt Part either imaginary, or but of ſmall Moment and Prejudice to the Community, no Conſequence I think can be clearer than this, that every Attempt to redreſs

redſs theſe, eſpecially in the Way of open Clamour and popular Accuſation, muſt prove conſtantly more pernicious to that Community, than the Errors themſelves, though real, can poſſibly do; and of courſe, that all ſuch Attempts ſhould in the very Bud be ſuppreſs'd and diſcouraged.

If you will be but at ſome little Pains, Gentlemen, to ſearch into Hiſtory, and the Records of former Times, ſo replete with the Accounts of popular Commotions and Inſurrections againſt Governors, in every Nation I believe upon Earth, you will, I am confident, readily join with me in the Truth of my preſent Obſervations.

In theſe you will find, that Events the moſt dreadful and ſhocking to human Nature, have frequently owed their Original to Cauſes, in themſelves the moſt abſurd and contemptible, that can well be conceived. The preſcribing ſome neceſſary Rule in a Matter perhaps of mere Form, and for the Sake of Decency and Order, becauſe not ſuited to every Temper or Opinion; the laying on a moderate Tax, for the Support of ſome eminent and publick Advantage; or the Reſtraint of ſome former Liberty or Privilege, when ſuch were found inconvenient, or abuſed to very bad Purpoſes; Incidents, I ſay, of this Kind, have often been known, in every Age and Government of the World, to have inflamed a giddy and unthinking Multitude to revile, condemn, and riſe up againſt their lawful Rulers, and to lay ſuch a Scene of Confuſion and Miſery in the Common-Wealth. as muſt give Pain to every rational Mind, but once to think of.

You need not, I believe, Gentlemen, go farther than your own Times, and the Adminiſtration you live under, to ſee many glaring Inſtances of this fatal Conduſt, and what can can be ſo melancholly a Reflection, as ſtill to obſerve the ſame unhappy Meaſures purſued, though ſure to be attended with ſtill the ſame dreadful Effects.

Let

Let me allow then, which is the utmoſt can be required, that Governors may at ſome Times judge or act amiſs; that the Rules they preſcribe are not always rational or convenient, or properly executed; and that in many Caſes they encroach perhaps a little too far upon that Liberty, Property, or Privilege, which the Laws of the Community have made the Subjects Birthright; will any Man from hence argue, that immediate Diſcontent, Invectives, and Reſiſtance, muſt be the moſt effectual Method for Redreſs? None ſurely in their Reaſon will attempt it, and every reflecting Mind, I imagine, muſt rather chuſe to compound for ſmaller Evils, than for the Cure of thoſe to bring down the ſevereſt upon his own Head.

So long as Men are Men, they will no douht have Paſſions, and a Senſibility of the lighteſt Injuries they ſuffer, but whatever Right they may plead, in ſuch a Situation to a modeſt Apology for Relief, or a ſubmiſſive Addreſs to thoſe who are concerned in their Protection, they cannot in my Apprehenſion have any, by open Calumny and Diſorder, to endanger the State they are ſubject to, with Confuſion, Miſery, and Deſolation.

You will, I hope, from theſe few Remarks, Gentlemen, find it your true Intereſt, ſeaſonably to ſuppreſs the firſt Seeds of Diſcontent, to know the real Grounds on which they are founded, and the Temper and Views of thoſe who perſiſt to foment them: It has been obſerved by Sportſmen, that a babling and unſtanch Hound may eaſily delude an unwary Pack from the true Scent; but thoſe of Sagacity and Experience will ever diſregard him, and purſue that Track only, which leads to Conqueſt and Safety.

As far as I can be informed, Gentlemen, the principal Foundation of thoſe Complaints, which ſome of your Members, for private Ends of their own, have ſo induſtriouſly magnified, in order to inflame your Reſentment the higher, conſiſts in this, that they who are chiefly

chiefly concerned in the Government of your City, as a Body Corporate, have in many Inſtances violated thoſe Laws, which were to be the Rule of their Adminiſtration, and have moſt injuriouſly ſtripped you from Time to Time of thoſe Liberties and Privileges, which, as Citizens or Freemen, you have a perpetual and unalienable Right to claim and enjoy.

I have already confeſſed, Gentlemen, that the true Nature of theſe Rights and Privileges, or any real Violation of them, I am much unacquainted with, nor in my preſent Deſign do I think it of the leaſt Moment or Concern; ſo far in general I apprehend, that the Injuries complained of are not in Fact ſo very grievous as they are painted, and upon an impartial Survey of them, I am morally certain they will appear ſo; ſhould it be found otherwiſe, and an immediate Redreſs of ſuch Injuries neceſſary, I ſhall hereafter venture to aſſign my humble Opinion, through whoſe Hands, and by what Means a Redreſs of this Nature muſt be attempted, but previous to that, I think it will be of ſome Uſe to conſider this

4th Point I at firſt laid down for your Reflection, that there muſt in every Government be a diſcretionary Power, to recede a little, in ſome Inſtances, from the Strictneſs of ſtated Rules and Laws; and that ſuch Power is rather beneficial than hurtful to the publick Welfare.

You will all of you, I believe, Gentlemen, concur with me in this Sentiment, that excepting the ſupreme Governor of the World, or thoſe to whom he has committed an abſolute and preter-natural Power for this Purpoſe, there never yet was any ſingle Perſon, or Body of Men, ſo wiſe and perfect in their Jugdment, as to be able, in their conſtituting Laws for Government, to take in all Circumſtances, which either then, or afterwards may become the proper End and Object of ſuch Laws.

Now,

Now, not to inſiſt upon the apparent Defects of all human Abilities, for an Attempt of this Kind, there are two obvious Reaſons, why ſuch an Attempt muſt ever be impracticable and unſucceſsful;

1*ſt*, Becauſe the Circumſtances of thoſe particular Ends, for which any Law is inſtituted, are many of them ſo minute and various, that they can not at once be all of them conſidered or provided for.

2*dly*, Though every Circumſtance, which affects the preſent State of Things, might be diſcovered and taken care of, yet there are ſuch daily Changes and Revolutions in the Condition of all ſublunary Affairs, that what was found neceſſary at one Time, may at another become highly inconvenient; and what, without the utmoſt bad Conſequence, could not now be eſtabliſhed, might again become a Rule of indiſpenſible Benefit and Importance.

Theſe two Points, Gentlemen, are ſo ſelf-evident, and univerſally acknowledged, that to dwell upon them ſeems ſuperfluous; however, to make ſome Application from them to our preſent Diſquiſition, will I hope be neither uſeleſs nor tedious to you.

As the Caſe of all Laws and Adminiſtrations, in the Point now before us, is the ſame, I ſhall here confine myſelf to thoſe, in which as Citizens you are more immediately concerned, and which conſequently from your own Knowledge and Experience, you will be moſt capable to form a proper Judgment of in this Particular.

You cannot then but allow, Gentlemen, that there were many Rules and Laws of abſolute Neceſſity to the Well-being and Government of your City, which, in its firſt Conſtitution, or Infant State, it was not poſſible at once to diſcover or eſtabliſh; and for this Reaſon alone, conſidered barely as a Society, to be regularly ordered for the Happineſs of the Whole, and its reſpective Members, ; or for the Promotion of that various Commerce and Intercourſe, ſo requiſite as well

among themſelves, as with other and diſtinct Societies, there have, and ever will be, from Time to Time, many Advantages and Inconveniencies brought to Light, which in the Beginning it was impracticable for the limited Faculties of Men to forecaſt or provide for. This I am ſure, Gentlemen, the ſhort Obſervation of your own Times muſt make clear to you, and your Poſterity to the End of the World will ever experience the ſame.

If the natural Limitation of Human Powers alone then requires ſuch a gradual Increaſe and Improvement in the Laws formed for the good Government of your Community, how much more neceſſary muſt this be found, from the many Changes and Alterations, which almoſt daily ariſe, in the various Affairs and Intereſts, as well of yours as of every other Society upon Earth.

As the Number of your Inhabitants have increaſed, and your City grown larger; as your Corporations have multiplied- and your Trade and Manufactures become more extenſive; as new Revenues were required for the Support and Dignity of your Government, and many Contributions found expedient to that growing State of Arts and Induſtry, upon which the proſperous Condition of every City muſt depend; theſe diverſe Circumſtances, Gentlemen, you are ſenſible, not to name infinite more, that might be enumerated, muſt call for many new Ordinances and Regulations, which, in the former Situation of your Community, could neither be neceſſary, nor at that Time projected.

I muſt here likewiſe add, Gentlemen, that for the ſame Reaſon, ſome Liberties, Privileges, and Immunities, might be of abſolute Uſe, and highly convenient at one Period, which at another would be found not only inconvenient, but detrimental, to the true Welfare of your City; when the Ends, for which ſuch were conferred at firſt, are either ſufficiently anſwered, or not at all obtained by thoſe; or when by Corruption they are not only abuſed to univerſal Diſorder, but to the Sub-

verſion

verſion perhaps of that very Power which beſtowed them, in every Inſtance of this Kind, as Indulgence would be the greateſt Evil, ſo is a prudent Reſtriction of the weightieſt Moment and Obligation.

If ſuch then be the true State, not only of yours, but of every other Society and Adminiſtration, that ever did, or will exiſt to the End of Time, you will here perhaps demand, Gentlemen, by what Means is ſuch an Alteration in Laws to be effected, as publick Utility, in the different Circumſtances of Affairs, may require? To which I anſwer, that no other can be deviſed or allowed, but either the Inſtitution of new Laws, where ſuch are indiſpenſible, or in Points of leſs Moment, a prudent and diſcretionary Power in Governors to recede from the Strictneſs of old ones.

The forming of new Laws, Gentlemen, according to the uſual Rules and Conſtitution of this Kingdom, is well known to be a Point attended with great Expence, and Difficulty: nor can they at all Times be either eſtabliſhed or executed, with that Diſpatch which Neceſſity may often require; for this Reaſon, although in Caſes very material, or which were never before provided for, new Laws become of abſolute Importance, notwithſtanding theſe unavoidable Inconveniencies, under which they muſt be inſtituted, yet in Matters of leſs Moment, or not expreſly determined in any former Law, it has always, I apprehend, been judged expedient, in every Adminiſtration, to veſt Governors with a Power of doing many Things by their peculiar Authority, for which the ſtrict and literal Conſtruction of the Law itſelf neither had, or could perhaps, make full and proper Proviſion.

In this Senſe it is, that this old Maxim has generally prevailed, (*Summum jus ſumma injuria*) implying, that an Over-ſtrictneſs in the Execution of Laws may become the higheſt Injury; and indeed the Circumſtances reſpecting moſt Laws, as I have hitherto remarked, are ſo various, and ſo impoſſible at once to be all of them

them conſidered, that not to allow this Liberty of receding from the Strictneſs of them in certain Points, as the Neceſſity and State of Things may require, would in all Probability be productive of the greateſt Evils; in Inſtances of this Kind, there can be apparent Reaſon produced for the conſtant Formation of new Laws to rectify the ſmaller Defects of old ones; it is ſufficient that the eſſential Ends of them be obſerved. and a Multiplication of ſuch Laws, either for Amendment or Explication, has often been the Source of great Confuſion, and eſteemed by Men of Judgment to be rather a publick Miſchief than a publick Advantage.

Upon this Foundatian it is, that where the material Points of any Law eſtabliſhed by publick Authority are not obſtructed. Things of lower Importance have from Uſage or Cuſtom only obtained a Sanction, and become a Part of that common Law, by which the reſpective Societies, where ſuch Uſages prevail, are to be governed; and with the ſame View, in the Conſtitution of theſe Kingdoms, a Court of Equity has all along been appointed, for a rational Diſtribution of Juſtice, in ſuch Caſes, where either by a rigorous Adherence to the Letter of the Law, or its total Silence in ſome particular Points, no other Method could be deuiſed for an upright and conſcientious Determination.

My Purpoſe, Gentlemen, in troubling you with theſe Remarks upon the Nature and Obligation of Laws in general, and that Power committed to Governors, in ſome Caſes. and on ſome Occaſions. to recede from them, is only this, that you would from hence conſider, whither that Infringement of your particular Laws, ſo much complained of, be not on Emergencies of this Kind only; and whither ſuch a ſtrict Attachment to them, as ſome of your Brethren ſeem ſo warmly to inſiſt upon, would not in many Conjunctures be rather prejudicial than conducive to the real

Welfare

Welfare of your Community. It is an eaſy Matter for Men of Art, and ſway'd by Reſentment, and Self-Intereſt, to miſlead your Judgment, and inſpire a falſe Zeal, about thoſe Rules and Meaſures, which are to be the invariable Standard of your Government, but I am perſuaded, that on an impartial Enquiry, you will in many Inſtances, ſee the Neceſſity, and find the Advantage, of allowing ſome Alteration in thoſe Rules, as Change and the Variety of Affairs may often and abſolutely require.

On the other hand, Gentlemen, as to thoſe Liberties, Privileges, or Immunities, granted at any Time to your City, or to any of its ſubordinate Corporations, and of which the Outcry is, that you have by your Governors been moſt injuriouſly ſtripped, reflect, I beſeech you, whether many of thoſe may not now be inconducive to the Ends at firſt propoſed from them, or abuſed to Purpoſes, which are rather deſtructive of the publick Good, and all the Rules of Government and Order.

People may as much as they pleaſe extol the Value, and ſacred Preſervation of ſuch Bleſſings, but without due Limits and Reſtriction, I believe they will often be found the Source of complicated Miſchief, and the moſt dangerous Inſtruments that can be put into their Hands.

They were intended indeed as the Spur and Reward of Induſtry, but never as the Support of Independence or a lawleſs Subjection; and whenever they threaten ſuch a pernicious Conſequence, what muſt the Condition of thoſe Governors be, who have no Power to regulate or oppoſe them.

A Man may be allowed the Privilege of carrying Arms for his Defence, but muſt not from thence plead a Right to commit Murder with them, or not to ſurrender them to the Officers of Juſtice, when he attempts thus to abuſe them.

In

In this Light, Gentlemen, it will be your true Honour and Intereſt to conſider your preſent Situation, and let neither Animoſity, Selfiſhneſs, or Miſrepreſentation influence your Counſels and Reſolutions, if it appear, that ſome prudent Limitation of your former Rights or Liberties, inſtead of Injury or Oppreſſion, be really indiſpenſible to your publick Security and Welfare.

However high I may ſeem to carry my Opinion here of a neceſſary Power in Governors to recede in ſome Inſtances from the Strictneſs of ſtated Rules and Laws, it cannot ſurely be mine, or the Intention of any other rational Underſtanding, to defend ſuch a Latitude in this Power, as would place it beyond its due Bounds, or give it an unlimited Right to alter or invalidate all Rules and Laws at Pleaſure, let the Corruption be ever ſo great, or the Injury ever ſo flagrant, which the Community by this Means may be expoſed to: On ſuch Occaſions, therefore, as I have already obſerved, a vigorous and ſpeedy Redreſs muſt, no doubt be of the utmaſt Neceſſity, and in order to this, it will now be convenient, to conſider a little, by what Meaſures, and through whoſe Hands, ſuch a Redreſs may be beſt attempted; which to explain the more clearly, ſome ſhort Remarks, I flatter myſelf, will not ſeem quite uſeleſs on the

*5th* Poinr propoſed for your Conſideration, namely, that when any Abuſe of the Power veſted in Governors becomes dangerous to the Community, and ought to be ſuppreſſed, thoſe of mean Station, and the loweſt among the People, are very unfit Inſtruments for that Purpoſe.

The Reaſons I ſhall venture to affign for this Aſſertion are theſe that follow,

*1ſt*, Becauſe Men of this Rank are generally more ſwayed by Prejudice and Paſſion, more eaſily deluded by Miſrepreſentations, and the outward Appearance of

of Things, and not ſo well qualified, from a Solidity of Judgment and Experience, to conſider their true Intereſt, and the Methods of preſerving it.

If a conſtant Freedom of cenſuring and reforming every Step in Governors, which they think amiſs, were once allowed or liſtened to, in thoſe who are bound to Obedience, I would gladly know what Adminiſtration upon Earth could even for a ſingle Day be ſecure or ſupported? The more obſcure the Station, and the lower the Order of thoſe, who are Members in a Community, the more eaſily they are led to believe, that every Law formed for its Government, was intended only for their private Benefit, and that they have an indefeaſible Right, to diſpute and oppoſe every Thing which ſeems in the leaſt to reſiſt this or impair it.

Their darling Prerogative, Liberty, they extend to ſuch a boundleſs Comprehenſion, that no Ordinance they imagine ought to bind them, which they do not approve of, or which offers any Degree of Violence to ſo ſacred and univerſal a Bleſſing; and when this pleaſing Sentiment is improved in their Minds, by the Art and Elocution of others, and painted out in thoſe gaudy Colours, which uſually captivate vulgar Eyes, the Deluſion becomes ſtrong, and difficult to be conquered.

The nobler Ends of publick Welfare, and the Means which muſt conduce to it, Men of lower ſelfiſh Principles rarely are Maſters of; and when this alone muſt be the ultimate View of euery Adminiſtration, and all other Intereſts, ſubordinate to this, ſo far only conſidered, as they tend to promote and ſecure it, you may eaſily judge, Gentlemen, if you will be ſerious and impartial, whether ſuch as have not Talents well adapted to ſo important a Task, be the proper Perſons to lay open its Defects and reform it.

Now beſides this deficiency of ſound Judgment, and a publick and diſintereſted Spirit, which with great

Submiſſion,

Submiſſion, Gentlemen, however conducive to your real Welfare, I cannot think ſo much the diſtinguiſhing Principles of the lower Members of Community, there is a

2*d Reaſon*, Which renders them not ſo well qualified for the Redreſs of Miſconduct in their Governors, and that is the want of ſuch external Advantages, in point of Wealth, Power, and Station, as are abſolutely neceſſary to carry on a Work of ſuch Importance with due Succeſs.

I ſhall not deny, but that ſome Men, without theſe Advantages, may think wiſely, perceive Corruptions, provide Remedies, and have Hearts moſt boldly and benevolently diſpoſed to effect a Reformation, but the Queſtion is, whether nothing more be a wanting to accompliſh the Point they wiſh and aim at. I apprehend, Gentlemen, that we muſt, in this Caſe, judge as a great Apoſtle did, in the Converſion of the World from Ignorance and Vice to the ſaving Truths of the Goſpel; he became, as he tells us, all things to all Men; ſo long as Prejudice and Cuſtom have an Influence upon the human Mind, and this I preſume will be till Time is no more, ſo long muſt we to thoſe Prejudices and Cuſtoms conform our Behaviour; and if the Accuſations formed againſt Governours, and the Arguments to redreſs publick Grievances, will not readily take place, if not enforced by the Wealthy, the Powerful, and the Honourable, I need not ſay, how imprudent it muſt be, to chuſe for that Province Men, to whom theſe Gifts have not been imparted.

I would not be thought here to imply, Gentlemen, that theſe outward Appendages, which in themſelves have no real Dignity, ſhould gain your Preference before approved Integrity or Wiſdom, but that without the firſt, the latter in this World will ſcarce be able to make its Way or prove ſucceſsful, and conſequently, in all Caſes of Injury and Redreſs, that it will ever be moſt eligible to fix upon thoſe for your Friends and Coadjutors, whom you find theſe united.

The

The Reaſon laſt aſſigned, Gentlemen, for the Impropriety of Perſons in low Rank, attempting to accuſe and reform Governors, very naturally introduces a

*3d Reaſon*, to the ſame purpoſe, which is, that it has been the prudent Courſe of every Adminiſtration, to diſcountenance to the utmoſt all ſuch Attempts, as generally productive of the greateſt Evils any Community can be expoſed to.

Pray, conſider, Gentlemen, how fatal the Conſequence is likely to prove, if every inferior Member be indulged, when he thinks fit, to condemn, and rail at, his Governours, point out their manifold Corruptions, in the moſt odious Colours, with which he can deform them, and ſeduce whole Multitudes into the ſame Clamour and Uproar? Can any Conduct be ſo inconſiſtent with the due Order, Regularity, and Obedience of thoſe in Subjection, or any Scheme ſo prepoſterous, as to think by open Calumny and Invectives to obtain a Redreſs from thoſe Injuries they pretend to ſuffer?

It will be no Apology here for this Practice, to ſay, that the Injuries complained of are often real, or the Accuſations juſt, which are formed againſt them, becauſe it is not the Expediency of redreſſing theſe, but the Method of doing it, which is now under Conſideration; and although in many of thoſe Caſes the Charge may be true, yet the Arrogance of making it in ſo publick and invidious a Manner, muſt open the Way for Thouſands that are falſe to be proclaimed with the ſame Confidence and Freedom, and every Man will eſteem his Right to cenſure and reform as good as his Neighbours. Hence in a ſhort Time the Infection ſpreads and becomes univerſal, the whole Community is in a Flame about Shadows and Chimeras of their own forming, and nothing is to be ſeen but one common Scene of diſorder and Confuſion.

Whatever you may imagine, Gentlemen, this is an exact Picture of an Indulgence to the Multitude to accuſe their Governours and attempt the Redreſs of their own ſuppoſed Grievances; the Play has often been acted; Men in the higheſt Stations and Offices have been branded with the moſt horrid Crimes and Appellations, Courts of Judicature reviled as Dens of Injuſtice and Corruption, and ſacred Majeſty it ſelf ſcarce defended from the Imputation of Tyranny and Oppreſſion. If this be the Reſult of Liberty, I profeſs it is a very Melancholly one; they indeed who enjoy it have no great Reaſon I preſume to complain of Reſtraint; but I hope they who feel the diſmal Effects of it, will think it high time to check ſo audacious and growing an Evil.

From this Repreſentation, Gentlemen, the Truth of which, I am convinced, muſt be notorious to every common Obſerver, you can not be much ſurprized, that Governours ſhould with the utmoſt Care oppoſe the Attempts of ſubordinate Members to accuſe or diſturb the Meaſures of their Adminiſtration; and as Men of this Rank, from the Reaſons aſſigned, can never be deemed fit Inſtruments for redreſſing thoſe Grievances they pretend to groan under, be cautious, I adviſe you, in chuſing ſuch for this Undertaking, as have already diſtinguiſhed themſelves for the Patrons and Incendiaries of Diſcontent and Mutiny againſt their Rulers. If you feel real Injuries, from which you deſire to be relieved, take Care, that the very Methods you uſe to effect this be not the ſure Way to prevent it; they who inflame your Paſſions, and provoke your Complaints, inſtead of Patriots, and publick Benefactors, will more probably by wiſe Men be eſteemed the Fomenters of Sedition and Diſorder; and in the cooler Deliberations of an auguſt and judicious Senate, I apprehend, it will give no great Weight to any Remonſtrance, that it was at firſt founded upon a raſh and popular Clamour, raiſed by the Warmth of ſome Factions and turbulent Spirit.

Give

Give me leave to close this Point, Gentlemen, with one material Observation, which is, that in all the historical Accounts of those Commotions or Insurrections, which at any time, or in any Administration, have been set on Foot, by Men of low Degree, for the Accusation of Governours, and the Redress of Injuries, it will ever be found, that the Consequence has been fatal, and in the End turned to the Detriment of that Community which gave it being.

Out of innumerable Instances of this kind, that might be produced, I shall only mention that of the famous *Massianello* of *Naples*, who, though no more than an obscure Fisherman, raised the most dangerous and formidable Rebellion in that State, that the Annals perhaps of any Age or Nation can afford us. As some Gabels or Taxes had been imposed on the Inhabitants, which they thought an Encroachment on the Rights and Properties, the highest Discontent and Accusations arose amongst the Populace on this Account. *Massianello*, who was of a daring and enterprizing Genius, made use of this Accident for his own Purposes; by his Art and Intrepidity he spirited up every Breast to Revenge, and he was unanimously declared their Leader to Liberty and Glory; his Declamations against the State, and its Corruptions, almost deifyed him, and no Law had any Sanction but what came from his Mouth. In an Instant the whole City was in Arms, nothing on all sides but Murder, Devastation, and Ruin, and the Vice-Roy with many others in Authority under him were treated as the most infamous and abandoned Criminals. But what was the upshot of this Hero's Exploits? Why, after a Farce of Royalty and Dominion for a few Days, dazled with his new Splendor, he became a greater Tyrant, and more detested by his Followers, than him they had just deposed; upon which they put him to a severe and ignominious Death, released their Vice-Roy, and returned to their former Obedience.

The Application of this tragical Event, Gentlemen, I leave to your ſelves; if any of the Circumſtances hit your Situation, I hope you will profit by them, and avoid all appearance of running into Meaſures of the ſame unhappy Kind, when applying for Juſtice, or the Redreſs of Hardſhips laid upon you; I do not pretend here to vindicate the Severity of the Neapolitan Government, which no doubt was very oppreſſive and injurious to the Community, but to ſhow the deplorable Conſequence of any Populace, in a violent and ſeditious Manner, attempting their own Redreſs; and upon this Plan, nothing I think can be more manifeſt, than that every Adminiſtration upon Earth, as well the beſt and moſt equitable, as the worſt and moſt oppreſſive, muſt alike be expoſed to the diſmal Effects of popular Caprice and Indignation.

Here then the Queſtion will ariſe, if it happens, as no Doubt it often may, that Governours are Corrupt Violators of thoſe Laws, by which they ought to be directed, and injurious to that Community, for whoſe Welfare and Support they are conſtituted; and if the lower Members of ſuch Community, though the principal Sufferers, may not by open Clamour, Accuſation, and other violent Methods, attempt their own Redreſs, or put themſelves under the Conduct of an inferiour and turbulent Repreſentative for this Purpoſe; by what Means, and through whoſe Mediation, muſt this neceſſary Work of Reformation be affected?

Now to anſwer this Queſtion, to the beſt of my Power and Judgment, I muſt once more ſollicit your Attention, Gentlemen, to the

*6th And laſt Point propoſed for your ſerious Regard on this Subject, which is,* That as in a Number veſted with equal Power, ſome good and diſintereſted Minds there muſt probably be found, theſe alone are the likelieſt Inſtruments to rectify the Abuſes and

reſtore

reſtore the Welfare of that Community wherein they preſide.

As to thoſe of ſuperiour Rank in your City, Gentlemen, and who are principally concerned in the Government of it, in promoting the Proſperity of its Inhabitants, and the Preſervation of its Rights and Priviledges, nothing in my Opinion can be ſo abſurd, ſo contradictory to the Nature of Things, or ſo inconſiſtent with all the Rules of unprejudiced and impartial Reaſon, as to ſuppoſe ſuch an univerſal State of Corruption amongſt them, that to a Man they are all united and determined, for their own ſelfiſh Ends, and private Intereſt, to injure and diſtreſs the publick Welfare; this I ſay is a Charge, that can never be admitted by any indifferent and unbiaſed Mind, and that for the two following Reaſons.

In the firſt Place, Gentlemen, I can not find, that in the general Opinion of the World, or ſuch as moſt intimately know them, the Character and Conduct of theſe Men is ſo infamous as their Enemies repreſent them. In the common and ſocial Duties of Life, I apprehend the Generality of them at leaſt have been eminent for a ſtrict and conſcientious Diſcharge: In the mutual Offices of Converſation and good Neighbourhood, many of them are remarkable for their affable and generous Behaviour; in their Intercourſe and Dealings for their Uprightneſs and Probity; and in the Seaſons of Calamity or for the Promotion of ſome publick Emolument, for their extenſive Charity and benevolent Diſpoſition. Now that Men in theſe ſocial Relations ſhould be ſo truly Praiſe-worthy, and yet in the important Concern of Government and publick Welfare, give up all Senſe of moral Virtue and Honeſty, is a Paradox I muſt own above my Comprehenſion.

But *2dly*, Beſides the Improbability of this Imputation, the Truth is, Gentlemen, that neither the Accuſations againſt them are ſo juſt, nor the Injuries com-

plained

plained of ſo grievous, as they are painted. In the Election of Citizens to this Sphere of Government, it appears, that due Care is taken to give the Preference to thoſe who have the fitteſt Qualifications for a Truſt of that Nature; the Order and Regularity of the City in many Points are a Proof of this, and thoſe who in their Turns preſide in the firſt Place of Rule, have for the moſt part diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their uſeful and vigilent Adminiſtration. To which I muſt add, Gentlemen, as before, that the flouriſhing State of your Corporations in their various Branches of Trade, and their uninterrupted Enjoyment of many ſingular Privileges and Advantages, are by no Means an Indication of that diſtreſſed and injurious Treatment, ſo freely charged againſt their Superiors.

It may perhaps be urged here, that notwithſtanding the Capacity of your Governours, and the Senſe they have of their uſing many illegal and oppreſſive Meaſures to the Prejudice of thoſe who are ſubordinate to them, yet they are ſo ſtrongly attached to their private Intereſt, that this makes them blind to the publick Miſery, and turn a deaf Ear to all their Groans and Expoſitions. I am ſenſible, Gentlemen, that great Pains are taken to perſuade you that this Opinion is juſt, and yet I think it is evident almoſt to a Demonſtration, that nothing can be more abſurd or erroneous. In all Societies there is ſuch an intimate Union, and ſo cloſe a Connection betwixt the Head and Members, that I can form no Notion of the one being happy and proſperous, whilſt the others are in Languor and Diſtreſs, or how upon the Ruins of the latter, the former can lay a Foundation for Magnificence and Glory. It has been the Sentiment of a wiſer Man, than any who attempts to convince you of the contrary, that the Eye cannot ſay unto the Head, I have no Need of thee, nor the Head to the Feet, I have no Need of you, but that if one

ſuffers,

ſuffers, the whole muſt ſuffer; and if one be honoured, the Whole muſt rejoice. If therefore you will be ſo favourable to your Governors, Gentlemen, as to ſuppoſe they act from a real Priniple of Self-love to themſelves, I think they cannot take a better Method, than to ground this upon your Well-being; and from hence I am ſatisfied, that the Injuries ſo bitterly complained of by ſome of your Fellow-Citizens, muſt either be imaginary, or at leaſt ariſe from ſome other Motive than they are repreſented.

But let us allow, that ſome of this higher Rank are really ſo ſtupid and abandoned, as to make this the End of their Station and Power, I mean to ſtrip you of your legal Property and Prerogative, that they may feather their Neſts with your Spoils; are the whole Claſs of this wretched Stamp, and not one generous or compaſſionate Mind to be found amongſt them, who would liſten to your Complaints, and aſſiſt to redreſs you? the Inſinuation, Gentlemen, is beyond all Appearance of Probability, and they who endeavour to poſſeſs you with it muſt know it to be falſe; there are many in that Station, who would readily eſpouſe your Cauſe in any reaſonable Remonſtrance, and defend your Claims, when conducive to the publick Welfare, as much as they would their own, in their proper Councils, perhaps, ſome wrong Steps may be taken, which they neither approved, nor could prevent againſt a Majority; but this is no Reaſon, that in a higher Court and Capacity, they might not both be able and willing to do you Juſtice, ſo far as the Laws of your City or Country give you a Right to demand it.

But ſuppoſing this Abſurdity poſſible, that the whole Board are unanimous in their Reſolutions to diſtreſs you, and to refuſe you the leaſt Relief, or equitable Hearing, a Suppoſition I think ſcarce to be admitted. Have you not, Gentlemen, the publick Courts of Judicature to apply to for your Redreſs, which, we may preſume, will neither for the Sake of their Intereſt or Character, be willing

willing to reject your Suit, or deny you the Right of every common Subject?

I underſtand indeed with great Concern, that ſome of your Members are ſo hardy as to charge the whole Bench of Judges with the moſt infamous and flagrant Corruption, and that from Men of ſuch abandoned Principles you cannot have the leaſt Room to hope for Redreſs or Juſtice; a melancholly Situation verily, Gentlemen, you muſt be in, were this true. the whole World I think againſt you, and you againſt the World, and not one Man in Power or Authority to be allowed, upon whom you could depend for the leaſt Mercy or Favour. One Perſon I find there is, who has diſplayed his Abilities and Proweſs for bullying all theſe Tyrants, who are ſuch Foes to Honeſty and Juſtice, and giving them a proper Senſe of their Duty, and thoſe Laws, which they ought to underſtand, maintain. and execute; happy it is for you, Gentlemen, that you have ſuch a Champion to ſtand by you, who may be as uſeful in the Support of your Rights, as the King's is in the Defence of his Title at his Corenation; the only Difference lyes here, that the King ſtands not in Need of his Champion, and yours I fear will do you no Service.

But pray, Gentlemen, what real Ground can there be for this univerſal Calumny againſt the Judges of Right and Property in this Kindom? His Majeſty, as I apprehend, choſe them to that high Station, for their Integrity, and Skill in the Laws; and in the common Courſe of their Judicature; moſt of them, I believe, if not the Whule, are generally well approved of for their Conduct; one Thing, I am ſure, you will all allow, that in the Court, where Equity is principally regarded, and the Rules of other Courts properly adjuſted and tempered, there never were wiſer or more upright Determinations.

If none of theſe will anſwer the Purpoſe of the Diſcontented, and that they are all ſuſpected of Favour and Partiality to the Superior Rank of your City, becauſe

wealthy

wealthy or powerful, to the Prejudice of the low and diſtreſſed Members of your Community, let us aſcend at laſt, Gentlemen, to the ſupreme Reſource of the injured in this Kingdom, and the Fountain and Director of all other Courts, I mean the high Court of Parliament, and ſee, if in that honourable and auguſt Aſſembly, there be not ample Encouragement for the oppreſſed of all Kinds to take Sanctuary, and obtain Juſtice.

I am informed with vaſt Surprize, Gentlemen, that even here the Complaint is as loud as ever; that there is no Acceſs for the juſt Remonſtrance of your Injuries, nor a Member in that Honourable Body to be found, who would introduce a Petition in your Behalf: Your City Repreſentatives, to be ſure, who are the very Criminals accuſed, will never be guilty of ſuch an imprudent Step; as to lay open or remove their own beneficial Corruptions, and yet no other Member, it is alledged, will intermeddle in a Point, which it is not their Duty, or Province, to be concerned in. A noble Deſcription truly, Gentlemen, is here given us, of a wiſe and impartial Parliament, met together, to ſettle publick Right and Welfare upon a laſting Foundation; and yet in a Caſe of the higheſt Injury and Corruption, not one of that great Aſſembly can be influenced to repreſent it. But, Gentlemen, as the Charge thus painted, you may be aſſured, muſt be falſe, ſo if the Introduction of any Petition be refuſed, the Reaſon muſt be, that it was unſeaſonable, or trifling, or ill ſupported in its Truth and Allegations.

The Senate, as far as I can underſtand, Gentlemen, have frequently taken the Welfare of your City into their moſt ſerious Conſideration, and have made many good Laws and Regulations for its Advancement and Proſperity; and therefore, if you now ſuſtain any real Injuries, inconſiſtent with thoſe Rights and Privileges ſo warmly contended for, and which can not, with the ſame Proſpect of Succeſs, be elſewhere ſo well conſidered, I can ſee no Reaſon, that you have in this

Place to doubt a favourable Hearing, and a juſt Sentence.

I could ſincerely wiſh, Gentlemen, that ſome of your Brethren had done this renowned Body of Judges ſo much Honour, as to have ſuſpended their own Opinion, till they knew the Judgment of this ſupreme Tribunal, and that he at leaſt, who hoped to ſit here as your Repreſentative, had not by a peremptory and magiſterial Deciſion, before he takes his Seat, foreſtalled thoſe Reſolutions, which can there alone be determined. Such a Candidate I find there is, Gentlemen, upon whom many among you build great Hopes, though one of the loweſt in your Community; that by his Knowledge he is capable to direct, by his Patriotiſm to inflame, and by his Oratory to convince, every Member of this honourable Houſe, in all thoſe important Points, which in your Behalf there is now the utmoſt Neceſſity for laying before them.

But all Rallery apart, and to decline as much as poſſible the leaſt Appearance of Farce or Buffonery in a Matter of this Conſequence, can there in fact be any of your Fellow-Citizens, Gentlemen, ſo ſuperficial and injudicious, as to think a Man of this Rank and Deſcription, let his Genius otherwiſe be what it will, the fitteſt Conſtituent to repreſent and ſerve you in Parliament? If you really judge ſo, I am confident you judge amiſs, and that his are not at all the Qualifications neceſſary to influence and gain the Ear of ſo ſolemn and awful an Aſſembly. I am told ſome witty and facatious Tempers have declared their Vote this Way, in order to promote Merriment in the Houſe, as they ſtyle it, from the extraordinary Harangues of ſo elaborate a Speaker; I think, indeed, if there can be any at all, that this is the only probable End propoſed, in ſpiriting him up to ſo wild and romantick an Undertaking, which I can never reflect upon, without thinking of *Don Quixot*'s Adventures for the Redreſs of injured Damſels. I know not, Gentlemen, how uſeful in

another

another Scene this Kind of Comedy may be; but I can ſcarce imagine, that it will go down in a grave Senate, met to deliberate on the weighty Affairs of the Nation; or that they will take up their Time, in Oppoſition to all Decency and Dignity, to laugh at a groteſque Character, adapted only to a Stage Play or a Poppet-ſhew.

Be aſſured, Gentlemen, that the Talents requiſite to recommend a Speaker, and his Motions or Debates, to this venerable and diſcerning Court, are not a promptneſs of uttering loud and articulate Sounds, a Stock of Self-ſufficiency, or a dictating from his own Opinion what they ought to think and determine; ſo far otherwiſe, that the Qualities, deſerving their conſtant Regard and Attention, are Modeſty, Deference, ſolid Senſe, and Experience; and all theſe at the ſame Time adorned by the Sphere and Station of the Speaker, his approved Character and Reputation, and that Intimacy and Reſpect, with which the Beſt and moſt Honourable are pleaſed to diſtinguiſh him.

Let me then, Gentlemen, again exhort you, to be circumſpect, and well-adviſed, in the Concluſion of that Choice, wherewith you are intruſted on this Emergency; and if among thoſe who offer their Service, eſpecially ſuch as are at the Head of your Community, you can diſcover a Candidate, in whom theſe laſt-mentioned Qualifications conſpire to recommend him; fix there, and ſuffer no Art, Influence, or Scheme whatever, to raviſh that Conſent from you, which ought to be ſacred, and determined only by your proper Judgment and Conviction. In ſuch a Choice, and Reſolution, you cannot miſcarry, but find your Honour and Intereſt moſt powerfully ſecured by it; whereas, upon any other Views or Motives, you will as ſurely loſe your Mark, and repent the Deciſion you make, ſhould you be ſo unhaypy as to ſucceed in a Majority.

A more

A more powerful and opulent City, Gentlemen, in your neighbouring Kingdom, ſhould be a Precedent to you, who generally chuſe their Repreſentatives in Parliament, from thoſe of the ſuperior Rank amongſt themſelves, and as conſtantly give the Preference to ſuch as are moſt eminent for their Intereſt, Wealth, and Reputation. Theſe wiſe and politick People have all their Ends well anſwered in ſuch an Election; and for this Reaſon, ſo long as they continue to be a City, this no doubt will be a leading Rule to them, well worth your Imitation.

My principal View in this Addreſs, Gentlemen, is to contribute all I can, in my poor Capacity, to your real Welfare and Dignity; and if I have the loweſt Degree of Succeſs in what I moſt ſincerely wiſh and deſire, it is an abundant Recompence to me, for my ſmall Attempt to do you Service.

FINIS.